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Historical relationship among three non-Tibetic languages in Chamdo, TAR

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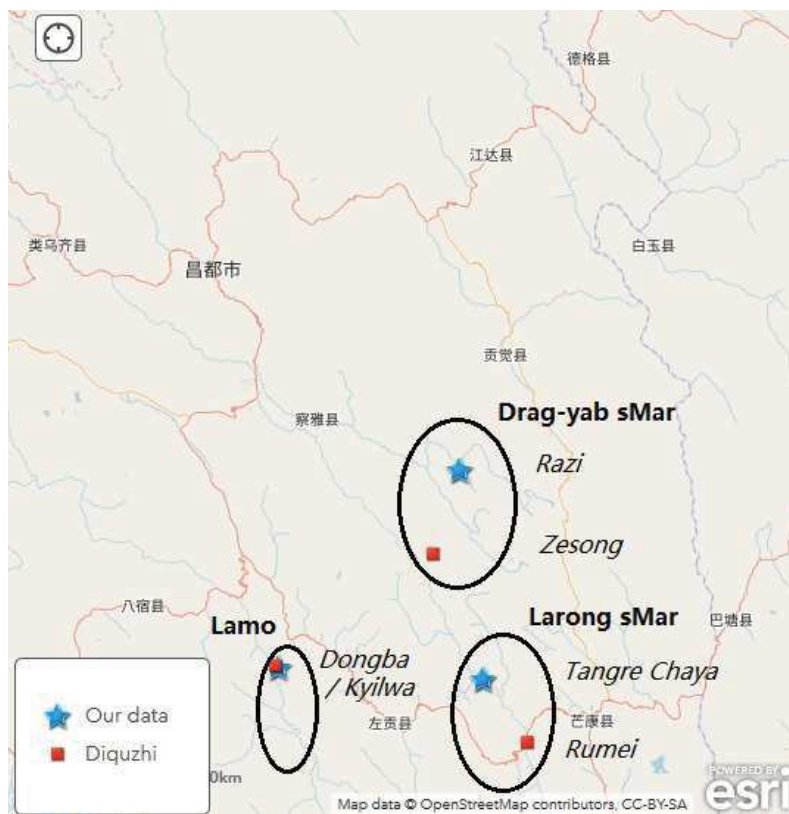
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1 Introduction

Chamdo Municipality is located in the east of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Three counties in this municipality have at least three non-Tibetic, yet Tibeto-Burman language islands surrounded by various dialect groups of Khams Tibeian, i.e.:

- **Lamo**: Spoken in the west of Dzogang County, along the Nujiang River.
- **Larong sMar**: Spoken along the Lancangjiang River of Dzogang and sMarkhams County.
- **Drag-yab sMar**: Spoken in the southern half of Drag-yab County.

Changdu Diquzhi (2005:819) mentions three special *dialects* (Dongba, Rumei, and Zesong) within Chamdo, which correspond to the three languages above.



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See Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (forthcoming) for more detailed information of the geographical distribution and sociolinguistic background of each language. Our previous descriptions (Suzuki & Tashi Nyima 2016, 2017) primarily discussed the case of Lamo, and did not pay special attention to the two other languages.

This article examines whether these three languages are mutually related, if so, how they are related. For this purpose, it attempts to outline a historical context to the languages and their speakers, including a brief cultural history of the language territories. To that end, the paper, which is based primarily on Tibetan historical literature, studies under what, similar or different, historical circumstances these languages have come into being in the first place. More importantly, a comparison of cognates should be investigated. However, due to a long-term heavy influence of surrounding Tibetic languages, they have received a massive number of Tibetic loanwords even in the category of core lexical items, and hence search for cognates is to some extent difficult.

We will posit Lamo as a centre of the discussion since it is the mother tongue of the second author, who is the source of all the data concerning Lamo. The other languages' data were collected and recorded by two of us as well as Tibetan members of the project (JSPS Grant-in-Aid, No. 17H04774). We have already obtained lexical data more than ten varieties of the three languages in total.

We principally use data of the following varieties:

- Kyilwa dialect of Lamo (native language of the second author).
- Tangre Chaya (sMarkhams) and Phagpa (mDzogang) dialects of Larong sMar.
- Razi dialect of Drag-yab sMar.

Before an analysis, an overview of the sound structure of the three languages is provided in the next page. This article's analysis is just regarding initials of around 600 words; rhymes and suprasegmentals are excluded. Note that the objective of the article is not to reconstruct proto-forms but to examine a mutual relationship among the languages.

2 Sound system: A brief look

2.1 Lamo (Kyilwa dialect)

Syllable structure: ^CCGV.

Consonantism: /p^h, p, b, t^h, t, d, t^h, t, d, k^h, k, g, q^h, q, ɣ, ʔ, ts^h, ts, dz, tɕ^h, tɕ, dʒ, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, ʒ, x, ɣ, ɣ, ɣ, h, fi, m, m̥, n, n̥, n̥, ŋ, ŋ, ŋ, N, N̥, l, l̥, r, w, j/.

Prenasalisation and preaspiration appear as a preinitial. Glides are /w/ and /j/.

Vocalism: /i, e, ε, a, a, ɔ, o, u, ʊ, ʊ, ə, ɐ/.

They have creaky and nasalised c In erparts. Marginally, one can find some secondary articulations: retroflexed /ɻ/ and velarised /ə^ɣ/.

Suprasegmentals: high (ˊ) and rising (ˊ)

A tone bearing unit (TBU) is first two syllables of each word. An apostrophe (') appearing between first and second syllables denotes that the second syllable is out of TBU.

2.2 Larong sMar (Tangre Chaya dialect)

Syllable structure: ^CCGV

Consonantism: /p^h, p, b, t^h, t, d, t^h, t, d, k^h, k, g, q^h, q, ɣ, ʔ, ts^h, ts, dz, tɕ^h, tɕ, dʒ, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, ʒ, x, ɣ, ɣ, ɣ, h, fi, m, m̥, n, n̥, n̥, ŋ, ŋ, ŋ, N, N̥, l, l̥, r, w, j/.

Prenasalisation and preaspiration appear as a preinitial. Glides are /w/ and /j/.

Vocalism: /i, e, ε, a, a, ɔ, o, u, ʊ, ʊ, ə, ɐ/.

They have creaky and nasalised counterparts.

Suprasegmentals: high (ˊ) and rising (ˊ)

A tone bearing unit (TBU) is first two syllables of each word. An apostrophe (') appearing between first and second syllables denotes that the second syllable is out of TBU.

2.3 Drag-yab sMar (Razi dialect)

Syllable structure: ^CCGV

Consonantism: /p^h, p, b, t^h, t, d, t^h, t, d, k^h, k, g, q^h, q, ɣ, ʔ, ts^h, ts, dz, tɕ^h, tɕ, dʒ, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, ʒ, x, ɣ, ɣ, ɣ, h, fi, m, m̥, n, n̥, n̥, ŋ, ŋ, ŋ, N, N̥, l, l̥, r, r̥, w, j/.

Prenasalisation and preaspiration appear as a preinitial. Glides are /w/ and /j/.

Vocalism: /i, e, ε, a, a, ɔ, o, u, ʊ, ʊ, ə, ɐ/.

They have creaky and nasalised counterparts.

Suprasegmentals: high (ˊ) and rising (ˊ)

A tone bearing unit (TBU) is first two syllables of each word. An apostrophe (') appearing between first and second syllables denotes that the second syllable is out of TBU.

3 Analysis of cognates

Lamo, Larong sMar, and Drag-yab sMar to some extent share similar word forms which are uncommon to Tibetic languages. Note that we find dialectal variations within each language; however, here we do not consider this issue.

3.1 Sound correspondences

Table 1 displays some word forms shared by all of the three languages with the same initial.

Table 1: Cognates with the same initial

No.	Meaning	Lamo	Larong sMar	Drag-yab sMar	Correspondence
(1)	bitter	ṽqa q ^h ε	ṽq ^h a	ʼq ^h a pu	/q ^h / : /q ^h / : /q ^h /
(2)	cry	ʼqo	ʼqo	ʼqə	/q/ : /q/ : /q/
(3)	earth	ʼ ⁿ dzɔ	ʼ ⁿ dza	ʼ ⁿ dza	/ ⁿ dz/ : / ⁿ dz/ : / ⁿ dz/
(4)	eat	ṽ ⁿ dzə	ṽ ⁿ dzə	ṽ ⁿ dzə	/ ⁿ dz/ : / ⁿ dz/ : / ⁿ dz/
(5)	house	ṽtɕi	ṽtɕo	ʼtɕẽ	/tɕ/ : /tɕ/ : /tɕ/
(6)	blood	ṽse	ṽse	ṽse	/s/ : /s/ : /s/
(7)	needle	ʼɸa	ʼɸa	ʼɸa	/ɸ/ : /ɸ/ : /ɸ/
(8)	cow	ʼɲu	ʼɲu	ʼɲu	/ɲ/ : /ɲ/ : /ɲ/
(9)	wait	ṽ ^h li	ṽ ^h le	ṽ ^h li	/ʰl/ : /ʰl/ : /ʰl/
(10)	horse	ʼre	ṽre	ʼre	/r/ : /r/ : /r/

We consider that these examples are basic native words which can be regarded as evidence that they are in a closer relationship with each other.

Table 2 displays several cognates with slight differences in their initial depending on languages.

Table 2: Cognates with some differences

No.	Meaning	Lamo	Larong sMar	Drag-yab sMar	Correspondence
(11)	salt	ṽts ^h o	ṽts ^h ə	ṽts ^h ə	/ts ^h / : / ⁿ ts ^h / : /ts ^h /
(12)	six	ʼtɕi	ʼtɕ ^h u	ṽtɕ ^h u	/tɕ/ : /tɕ ^h / : /tɕ ^h /
(13)	meat	ʼtɕ ^h i	ṽ ^h tɕ ^h i	ʼ ^h tɕ ^h ə	/tɕ ^h / : / ^h tɕ ^h / : / ^h tɕ ^h /
(14)	you	ṽnə	ṽnə	ṽna	/n/ : /n/ : /n/
(15)	seven	ṽni	ʼni	ṽ ^h ne	/n/ : /n/ : / ^h n/
(16)	hand	ʼlu	ṽ ⁿ di	ʼ ⁿ de	/l/ : / ⁿ d/ : / ⁿ d/
(17)	butter	ṽjwə	ṽwa	ʼwe	/jw/ : /w/ : /w/
(18)	head	ṽwɔ	ṽwɔ	ʼɸo	/w/ : /w/ : /ɸ/
(19)	eye	ṽmə' do	ṽ ^h ni	ṽnə	/m/ : / ^h n/ : /n/
(20)	nose	ṽ ^h u	ṽ ^h u	ṽ ^h na rə	/n/ : / ^h n/ : /n/
(21)	tongue	ṽ ^h lə	ṽ ⁿ də	ʼ ^m da	/ʰl/ : / ⁿ d/ : / ^m d/
(22)	tooth	ʼxu	ʼ ^h li	ʼxu	/x/ : /ʰl/ : /x/
(23)	milk	ʼxɔ	ṽ ^h lɔ	ʼ ^h lɔ	/x/ : /ʰl/ : / ^h l/
(24)	moon	ṽle	ṽ ^h li	ṽ ^h la ji	/l/ : / ^h l/ : / ^h l/

These examples presents differences as follows:

- between Lamo and the others: (12), (13), (14), (16), (17), (18), (19), (21), (23), (24)
- between Larong sMar and the others: (20), (22)
- between Drag-yab sMar and the others: (15)

Although we find differences of initials among the three languages, we cannot rule out what regular phonological correspondences are, and it is thus still difficult to consider the genetic vicinity only with the data in Table 2. At least based on the current data, we find that Lamo tends to have a different phonetic development from the others.

3.2 Lexical features

Due to the strong, long-term influence of surrounding Khams Tibetan dialects, it is already difficult to find many cognates which are common to the three languages. However, we can find several important lexical differences in native words, for instance, in Table 3 (including a few Tibetic loans):

Table 3: Different roots among three languages

No.	Meaning	Lamo	Larong sMar	Drag-yab sMar
(25)	mouth	^{-ñ} tɕ ^h u to (T)	ʼmu	ʼci
(26)	foot	ˉsiʼ ka	ʼŋgu	ˉp ^h ə ⁿ du
(27)	liver	ˉse	ˉje	^{-ñ} tɕ ^h ĩ ^m bi (T)
(28)	laugh	^{-ñ} gɛ (T)	ʼ ⁿ ts ^h ə	ˉɛ̃
(29)	sleep	ˉnə ^ñ gu	ʼju	ʼnə ^m ɛ̃
(30)	child	ˉno no	ˉ ⁿ t ^h e	ʼna
(31)	take	ʼle	ʼɣi	ˉtɕ ^h ɔ̃
(32)	search	ˉxu	^{-ñ} zɔ̃	ʼnə ^ñ o
(33)	forget	ʼnɛ t ^h a	^{-ñ} mɛ	ʼɣə ^ñ mu se
(34)	sky	^{-ñ} na (T)	ˉŋo	ʼmo
(35)	sun	ˉnə	ʼni	ʼni me (T)
(36)	red	^{-ñ} maʼ ^ñ ma (T)	ˉnɛ ^ñ nɛ	ˉ ⁿ dja

There are probably more Tibetic loans in Table 3; for example, the Drag-yab sMar form of (30) might be a Tibetic loan. However, we still need a confirmation of the sound correspondence when a language borrowed Tibetic words.

Tables 4, 5, and 6 display examples in which two of three languages share a common root.

Table 4: Lamo roots different from the other two languages

No.	Meaning	Lamo	Larong sMar	Drag-yab sMar
(37)	body hair	^h pu (T)	ʼmɔ	ʼmɔ
(38)	urine	ˉqo	ʼpi	ʼbi
(39)	look	ˉtu	ʼɲi	ʼt ^h a ɲẽ
(40)	person	ʼmə	ˉɲɸ nɛ	ˉ ^{fi} ɲuʼ ɲi
(41)	male	ˉno	ʼzə	ʼzə
(42)	daughter	ʼnu mo	ʼmɛ	ʼmɔ
(43)	road	ˉtɕə	ˉrɛ	ʼra
(44)	fear	ˉ ^{fi} lɛ	ˉ ^{fi} ɣe	ʼɣe
(45)	be born	ˉno ^m bə	ʼ ⁿ dzə	ʼ ⁿ dzə
(46)	go	ˉxu	ˉ ⁿ t ^h ɔ̃	ˉ ⁿ t ^h ẽ
(47)	shout	ˉkəʼ ɕi	ˉrɛ	ʼrɛ
(48)	four	ˉlɔ̃	ʼ ^{fi} ɣə (T)	ʼ ^{fi} ɣe (T)
(49)	eight	ˉ ^{fi} dzə (T)	ʼɕe	ˉɕa
(50)	ten	ʼɸa	ˉʔa qɔ̃	ʼfiɱ ɸɔ̃
(51)	twenty	ʼɲe qa	ʼna	ʼna

Examples (48) and (49) are noteworthy, for (48) displays that only Lamo maintains a native form whereas (49) shows that only Lamo borrowed a Tibetic form although these two words are in the same category: numerals.

Note that several examples of verbs in Drag-yab sMar, such as (39) and (46), show a person-marking (nasalisation of a vowel for the 1st person; for controllable verbs), which totally lacks in Lamo.

Table 5: Larong sMar roots different from the other two languages

No.	Meaning	Lamo	Larong sMar	Drag-yab sMar
(52)	be sick	ˉɲo	ʼnɔ̃	ʼnɛ ɲa
(53)	rain	ʼmo	ˉtsu	ʼmo

Note that example (52) in Drag-yab sMar shows a person-marking (-a vowel for the 1st person; for noncontrollable verbs), which are not attested in Lamo and Larong sMar.

Table 6: Drag-yab sMar roots different from the other two languages

No.	meaning	Lamo	Larong sMar	Drag-yab sMar
(54)	wear	ʼto ^ɰ gu	ˉ ^ɰ gu	ʼqe
(55)	wind	ˉmɛ	ʼɲa mi	ʼ ^{fi} dza ^{fi} gə rə
(56)	wipe	ˉnə ɕə	ˉɕẽ	ʼxɔ̃

Tables 4, 5, and 6 show that Lamo's word forms are more diverse than the others. To sum up, Lamo has experienced relatively independent development on lexical features.

4 Concluding remarks

- Lamo, Larong sMar, and Drag-yab sMar share not a few lexical forms with each other.
- Cognates with a slight difference in initials or vowels are also existent.
- It is still difficult to rule out sound correspondences among them.
- Different roots in each language for a given word are also found.
- From a viewpoint of lexicon, the three languages are in a close relationship.
- Lamo is more diverse in lexical features among the three languages.
- Existence of many Tibetic words makes a comparison complicated.

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